UNITY

FREEDOM, FELLOWSHIP AND CHARACTER IN RELIGION

(Jenkin Lloyd Jones, Editor, 1880-1918)

John Haynes Holmes, *Editor in Chief*

Associate Editors

Louis L. Mann Curtis W. Reese

Law Observance

By ARTHUR L. WEATHERLY

The Guest of Honor

A One-Act Satirical Play

By JAY G. SIGMUND

International Economic Policy of Indian Nationalists

By TARAKNATH DAS

Trumpets on New Horizons

By VINCENT G. BURNS
FANIA KRUGER
LUCIA TRENT

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Contents

EDITORIAL— Page
Notes 35
Law Observance—ARTHUR L. WEATHERLY..... 37

ARTICLES—
The Guest of Honor—A One-Act Satirical Play —JAY G. SIGMUND 38
International Economic Policy of Indian Nationalists—TARAKNATH DAS 42

POETRY—
Tranquility—MARGUERITE EMILIO 35
Trumpets on New Horizons:
To Every Soul—VINCENT G. BURNS..... 45
Russia—Pre-War Russia, Russia Today—FANIA KRUGER 45
On Seeing My Children at Play—LUCIA TRENT 45

THE STUDY TABLE—
A Primer of Humanism—JAMES A. FAIRLEY... 43
A Defense of Evolution—MAYNARD SHIPLEY... 44

CORRESPONDENCE—
A Threat to Social Idealism in Art—RALPH CHEYNEY—LUCIA TRENT 45
Flogging, Clubbing and Skull Cracking of Indian Patriots—TARAKNATH DAS..... 46

THE FIELD—
An Open Letter to the Right Hon. Mr. Wedgwood Benn—L. N. GUBIL SUNDARESAN..... 47
Sherwood Eddy on Mahatma Gandhi..... 47
All-World Gandhi Fellowship..... 47
A Petition for Disarmament..... 48

UNITY

"HE HATH MADE OF ONE ALL NATIONS OF MEN"

VOLUME CVI MONDAY, SEPTEMBER 29, 1930 NUMBER 3

TRANQUILITY

There is a hush that fills the world at evening,
When boisterous winds have blown themselves away;
When seas lie calm, serene, as if in slumber,
Resting from all the tumult of the day.

There is a hush that fills the world at dawning,
Before the sun breaks through the shroud of night,
Before the birds, with early-morning blitheness,
Soar, singing praises for returning light.

There is a hush that fills the restless spirit
When from the inmost depths a vision springs;
Or, when the God of Beauty in his passing,
Brushes the soul with radiant, lustrous wings.

There is a hush more deep than evening silence,
Which fills the heart when, clearly, from above,
Comes full awareness of that highest glory:
Of life made perfect by the power of love.

MARGUERITE EMILIO.

Oppression is the mother of revolution. This is as true in Germany as it is in India, and as it was in Russia. A thousand explanations are being sought for the sensational political overturn in the German elections on September 14th last. Only one is needed, or will be recognized by posterity—the law of justice. A new generation has come to the German polls in recent years—the youth who grew up amid the horrors and deprivations of the war and post-war periods, and who are tired of living under the unjust penalties imposed upon their fathers by the victorious Allies. What these young men and women see is a Germany organized, tyrannized and victimized by the infamous Versailles Treaty. The basis of this Treaty is the monstrous charge that Germany was guilty of the crime of the Great War. These young Germans know that, even if this charge were true, it is not true of themselves who were infants in arms under the rule of the Kaiser. But they know also that the charge is *not* true —that all competent authorities in all countries at the best distribute responsibility for the War among all the belligerent powers, and at the worst lay the chief burden of guilt upon Serbia, Austria, Russia and France. Yet on the basis of the Versailles lie, Germany is "cribb'd, cabin'd and confin'd" in a thousand ways, and drained of her resources under the Young Plan, which is only a mitigation of the ghastly atrocities of the Dawes Plan and the original Treaty itself. That the rising generation of Germans should continue to live patiently under such conditions is as little to be expected as desired. Of course, they turn to Fascism and Communism as a way out. If this seems sheer blind desperation, let nobody be blamed but the nations responsible for the yoke of oppression laid upon Germany's neck. What is needed in the present crisis is not lamentation nor denunciation—least of all a fresh binding and weighting of the yoke, as hardy chauvinists in France and England and America are now contending. The one thing that can bring assurance to Germany and peace to Europe is an immediate and drastic *revision of the Treaty of Versailles*. The German elections are a storm-warning that, unless this be done speedily, a hurricane of revolution will engulf the continent.

Now that Gandhi has spoken for India in terms which Britain is unwilling to accept, it is going to be interesting to see what Mr. MacDonald will do with his much-tooted Round Table Conference this next month. As the British Prime Minister has been persistently stubborn and unimaginative, not to say stupid and ungenerous, from the beginning of his occupancy of Downing Street, it is not surprising that he has decided to go ahead just as though nothing had happened, and has actually announced the Indian conferees who are to sit with him and his associates in London. These sixty-six natives are an amazing group, running all the way from princely rajahs to humble "untouchables," and representing every interest but that of the Indian National Congress. This is "a large exception," says the pro-British New York *Times*. Nor can the fate of India, continues the *Times*, "be decided in a consultation from which the many millions who stand with Gandhi have abstained." What a spectacle!—a group of English politicians meeting with a group of Indian trimmers, while the one man on either side who really counts sits calmly in a prison-cell! The Round Table, of course, can only rewrite the futile record written by the Simon Commission—go through a mock performance, publish an elaborate report, and be immedi-

ately forgotten. One wonders what Britain is hoping to gain by tactics of this sort. At bottom there can be no explanation of British policy toward India except the fact that the Empire feels itself strong enough to hold or beat India to submission. The Laborites, in other words, exactly like the die-hard Tories, are placing ultimate reliance upon that brute appeal to arms which is as old as Caesar, Xerxes, and Sennacherib. But we recall that once before at least Britain trusted to the force of arms rather than the rule of justice, and lost the richest treasure ever held by an imperial crown. Has MacDonald never heard of Lord North, of George III? Steadily, ever since 1918, England has been losing her grip on India. The logic of the last decade is inevitable freedom for the Indian people. We cannot see that Indians need object to what is going on. But what about Britain? Is there no Chatham, or Burke, to raise the cry of alarm?

Jane Addams, on the recent occasion of her seventieth birthday (Congratulations—to Miss Addams and to the world!), spoke of three roads to peace along which she had seen mankind moving in her time. The first is disarmament; the second, the outlawry of war; and the third, a world court for the judicial settlement of disputes between nations. It seems to us that these three causes constitute a kind of trinity of causes which, in the fashion of orthodox Christian theology, make up the unity of the one great cause of peace. Central and fundamental is the outlawry of war. Mr. Henderson at Geneva would place disarmament at the heart of peace. Disarm, he argued at the recent meeting of the League of Nations, and there will be no fear between nations, and in the absence of fear no wars or rumors of wars. But how secure disarmament, how persuade the great powers to strip themselves naked of weapons on land and sea, so long as the possibility of war anywhere remains? Briand is right—the world must first organize itself on the basis of the epoch-making renunciation of war achieved forever by the Briand-Kellogg Treaty. That done, and a world court established and empowered to settle international disputes in place of the dread arbitrament of arms, the armies and navies of the world will be dropped as a serpent sloughs his skin. As things go in this world, however, it is probable, as Miss Addams pointed out, that these three lines of progress are carrying and will carry, the peace movement of mankind more or less together. Events transpire not logically step-by-step, but more often illogically now-here-now-there. The Peace Pact, the London Naval Treaty, American entrance into the World Court—is it an accident that these are all happening more or less at the same time and under the influence of the same forces? Whatever the process, when the goal of peace is reached, we shall see *unarmed nations seeking determination of their disputes in an international tribunal of justice established in a world which has outlawed war as a crime.* Jane Addams, with patient spirit, dauntless courage, and true wisdom, has done much to speed the coming of this day. May she live to enjoy not merely the dawn of its promise but the noon-tide of its blessing!

Ambassador Dawes has been spending his vacation in a way that has attracted the attention of the press of the entire nation. For a period of weeks he visited the famous sites in France which are so impressively associated with the history of primitive man. More especially he inspected the caves on the walls of which appear the astonishingly competent and even beautiful drawings of the Cromagnons. In what he saw there was nothing particularly new to educated people. These sites and relics in France are a familiar part of the treasured heritage of our race. But the newspapers printed long dispatches for a period of days, telling what the Ambassador was doing and saying on this unusual vacation trip. Unusual, that is, for an ambassador! Here is undoubtedly what amazed the newspapers. We are not accustomed in this country to having politicians, or even statesmen, interested in archeology, or in the early history of man upon this planet. The New York *World* is probably correct when it surmises that most American politicians think that archeology is something to eat. Culture and politics simply don't go together in America. In Great Britain the two have long been associated. Gladstone was a famous Greek scholar, and an authority on Homer. Balfour was as distinguished a philosopher as he was a statesman. Asquith was an eager reader of the classics, and a thorough student of English literature. Lord Birkenhead knows science as Balfour knew philosophy. Phenomena of this kind, however, are here almost unknown. This is a good part of the explanation of the extraordinary fame of Justice Holmes, of the Supreme Court—he can write good English, and make a quotation from Herbert Spencer. It is certainly all of the explanation of this fuss and feathers, fury and furore, over Ambassador Dawes' vacation. Here is a man in politics who is a highly cultivated pianist, a charming composer, a student of Greek and Latin, and who takes a month off not in fishing, horse-racing, tourist travel, but in investigating a fascinating chapter of historical investigation. Such a person is as extraordinary as a two-headed calf, or the fabled sea-serpent. What wonder that newspapers are excited, and American citizens agape with astonishment!

There happened during this past summer an event in the newspaper world which seems to us to have been of more than passing interest. We refer to the decision of the editors in the state of Florida, when the late tree-sitting mania was at its height, to stop

printing all news about this insanity. This decision was based upon the sound premise that what kept the performance of these arborial half-wits going was publicity, and that if the publicity stopped, the lunacy also would stop. And it *did,* just as soon as silence fell upon the scene! The newspapers, in other words, were being used as the direct agency for maintaining the silliest kind of exhibition—and the Florida editors, suddenly recovering a sense of dignity and self-respect, stopped the thing forthwith! We have long marvelled at the willingness of newspapers thus to be "used." A year or so ago, the Great Shires, a mediocre baseball player, started out deliberately to make himself famous by figuring as the center of a series of conspicuous monkey-shines. The newspapers obediently printed long stories of every silly thing this absolutely unimportant person did—and what a laugh the Great Shires had at the way they had "fallen" for his stunt! Of course, the newspapers have always defended themselves by saying that whatever happens is news, and they have to print it as such. But this is utterly ridiculous, as the Florida editors conclusively demonstrated. There is no "news" in a lot of human monkeys climbing into trees and trying to out-sit one another. Nothing that the Great Shires did had either news interest or news importance to anybody. Rudy Valée is an utterly inconsequental person, and deserves not a half-inch of news space. Prohibition is an old, old story which is boring everybody to death and is kept alive only by the selfish interests of those who seek to profit by breaking down the law. Every day, so we are told, the newspapers discard far more news than they print. Well, in this business of discarding why don't they use decent standards, and thus throw away such stuff as we have specified?

It is probably wicked to rejoice at anything unhappy, but if so, we are wicked. For there are some unhappy things which bring us supreme and perfect satisfaction. We are thinking at the moment of the joy we feel when we see greed over-reaching itself and suffering disaster. In a certain Maine village, of which we know, the farmers' wives banded together into a Women's Exchange, rented a store, and started a modest business of home-made goods. This year the owner of the store raised the rent to an extortionate figure and the women were obliged to move away to a less desirable location. And, glory be, the store remained empty throughout the season. Every time we think of this vacant store, we grin all over with satisfaction. It's much the same way with the Stock Exchange. This past summer brought another sharp collapse of values. Wall Street went through a little panic reminiscent of last November. Even the shameful action of the Federal Reserve in coming to the aid of the gamblers with an unprecedentedly low discount rate, did not serve to stay the temporary drop of prices. People who learned absolutely nothing from previous experience suffered losses again, suicides began, etc., etc. It was sad—we saw and felt again the tragedy of human folly. But it *was* folly. Nay, worse than folly, it was greed! These men and women were lustful for money—money which they had not earned, money which they did not deserve. And now it's gone, and these wretched folk are ruined. Well, they *ought* to be ruined. Greed is here punished as it should be punished; and, wicked or not, it gives us satisfaction to witness such a day of judgment. For we believe that judgment in these cases is justice. At bottom, of course, we pity all misfortune, and will give hand and heart freely to any person for any reason in distress. When the cry for help is lifted, there is no place for inquiry as to why help is needed, until at least the help is given! But there is so much suffering in the world of innocent people who have done nothing to deserve their fate, so much sheer injustice visited upon sheer virtue, and all this so drains our sources of compassion, that when we see the other kind—greed paid in its own coin!—we find relief in song.

Law Observance

A western judge in a recent article on what is called the crime wave said that the problem before the American people was not one of law enforcement but law observance. This it seems to us hits the nail squarely on the head. We hear a great deal these days of law enforcement and very little of law observance. Frantic appeals are made to Congress to appropriate more and more millions for enforcement of law and at the same time more stringent legislation with heavier penalties is being enacted.

Law enforcement, no one denies, is important. But in a democracy it must necessarily be negligible in comparison with law observance. Society can carry a moderate load of unenforced laws. But when this load becomes too heavy then the whole social structure is endangered.

It is no argument for another non-enforceable law that there are existing laws that are more or less dead letters on the statute books. The question that must be asked of every new law is, does it represent an intelligent and interested public opinion. If it does not, it is a matter of serious concern if it becomes a part of the law of the land.

It seems to us obvious that in a democracy we must depend on the voluntary acceptance of legislation by the overwhelming majority of the citizens. The

enforcement of law must be for the few weak and unsocial individuals. So long as this is the situation it is possible to have a fairly orderly and stable society. It is also the condition of a progressive society. When too much of the energy of the state is consumed in the use of force, then free discussion, which is the basilar condition of progress, vanishes.

This means that all legislation should be the result of a serious and long discussion, through which the community arrives at what the Quakers call "the sense of the meeting."

Undoubtedly many mistakes will be made in any social group even when the utmost care is used to determine the popular will. But certainly there will be fewer than by the method of intensive propaganda aided by revivalistic fervor. When this latter method is used we may get law on the statute books, but the impossible corollary of this is a public that cares nothing for the law.

All the energy used for enforcement against public opinion only makes a bad matter worse. It inflames the minds of both the enforcers and the ones opposed to enforcement. All pretense of discussion in a public forum vanishes. The essentials of a social order are forgotten. Law as a whole comes into general contempt.

This is no excuse for law breakers or law breaking but it is a serious appeal to the readers of UNITY to stand for law observance as the basis of the social order rather than law enforcement.

If we in America go on heaping laws on laws, which are secured by arousing emotional fervor to a white heat, we will find ourselves headed for a disaster more real than our recent drought.

ARTHUR L. WEATHERLY.

The Guest of Honor

A One-Act Satirical Play

By Jay G. Sigmund

Cast of Characters

Christ, *who has returned to earth and who finds a modern world un-understandable.*

Julius Halverson, *President of the Chamber of Commerce of the growing city of Dalton Center.*

Thomas Maynard, *Secretary of the Chamber of Commerce of Dalton Center.*

Phyllis, *Mr. Halverson's secretary.*

William White, Paul Williams, Richard Ford, George Bemis, Clarence McIntyre, *Directors in the Chamber of Commerce of Dalton Center.*

Louis Werner, *a newspaper reporter.*

Glen Hunter, *an advertising man.*

TIME: A. D. 1929.

PLACE: The Directors' room of the Chamber of Commerce of Dalton Center.

(*As the curtain rises, the luxuriantly finished room of the Chamber of Commerce of Dalton Center is revealed. There is a long table in the center of the room upon which is an inkwell, papers, etc. Massive chairs are arranged around the table. Framed pictures of officials in the Chamber of Commerce are on the wall. Julius Halverson, President of the Chamber, is dressed in his cutaway coat with striped trousers and he wears a carnation in his buttonhole. He is standing near the wall with a huge pasteboard sign in his hand. Near him stands Thomas Maynard, the Secretary of the Chamber. Halverson is a middle-aged man with a stubby mustache, and hair which is graying about the temples. Maynard is a younger, though somewhat paunchy man, with a suit cut in the latest business mode. He wears horn-rimmed glasses and has a very self-important manner, though it is obvious he is most patronizing to his superior, the president.*)

JULIUS HALVERSON: We'll hang it right here, Tom, so he'll be sure to see it when he comes in.

THOMAS MAYNARD: Yes, yes, that's the idea. It'll make him feel right at home. (*He helps Mr. Halverson hang up the pasteboard. On it in large letters is the sentence: "Welcome, Jesus, the First Business Man."*)

JULIUS HALVERSON: There, that's the stuff, Tom. That'll hit him right between the eyes. (*They both look at the sign admiringly and then take seats by the table.*)

THOMAS MAYNARD: Well, it seems almost impossible to believe that he's really coming back to earth and that he'll be here in a few minutes. We've had a good many distinguished guests, but I never dreamed that during my time as Secretary of this Chamber of Commerce I'd get to be host to Jesus of Galilee. I can scarcely comprehend it.

JULIUS HALVERSON: (*Proudly*) Well, I'm somewhat like you, Tom, but of course I've always been a church member and you haven't. I knew of course that he'd come back some day but I had no idea it would be in my time. I've got to admit I'm a little flustered by it, but I'm mighty glad that we're the first body here in Dalton Center to entertain him. By the way, Tom, without patting ourselves on the back too much, we've had a pretty successful administration, you and me. We've certainly shown what can be done when the right push and pep is put back of a thing. We've stood for a bigger and better Dalton Center, and look at what we've sponsored. Why, there's been more drives this year than in any five years before, and there's been three new factories located here and another coming.

THOMAS MAYNARD: Yes, *two* more coming. You've forgotten the one for making milking machines.

JULIUS HALVERSON: That's right, but this crowns it all. Here's Jesus coming back to earth and we're the only people that know it and it's our hon-

ored job to entertain him, to show him the town and to give a banquet for him tonight. Say, isn't it about time the committee was coming back?

THOMAS MAYNARD: Oh, they'll be here soon. You know he's coming by plane, and they're going to meet him at the landing field and then put him right into a car and drive him directly here.

JULIUS HALVERSON: It's a good idea not to let anyone in on it until this evening at the banquet. We'll have him here to ourselves all day and nobody but our own officers and directors will get to see him. Tonight we'll give him the seat of honor at the table and I'll introduce him. You'll sit on the other side and when its over (*grows very confidential*), now get this Tom,—when its over, I'll get up and tell them that Jesus has had a hard day and that he can't meet any more people, and then we'll get them all out and you and I will drive him out to my house. We'll have a drink or two and then we'll talk with him. If he'll open up right, there's a lot of things I'd like to ask him. Then I guess I'll try to keep him all night and take him out to the country club in the morning. I'll phone you and you can come out and we'll play a few holes of golf.

THOMAS MAYNARD: By Jove, that's a good idea. You know I've been worrying some about what would happen when the whole town knew he was here. We got him here, at least we attracted him to the town on account of our Chamber of Commerce, and we, of course, should have any benefits or honors accruing.

JULIUS HALVERSON: Don't worry, boy. I've got all that figured out. We had to send a committee and I figured as long as that committee was our own membership we were all right. If we can keep him all day, I'll risk all the rest. I've had the steward in the dining room fix the swellest menu the club has ever served. Of course there's chances to run, but we've got to watch him and if it does leak out that he's in town we'll just have to keep everyone away until after the banquet at night.

THOMAS MAYNARD: Isn't it funny the churches didn't get wise?

JULIUS HALVERSON: Oh, there's no danger of that. They're all too dead to hear anything. Besides, they wouldn't believe it was him if we were to call a dozen preachers right in here. The preachers themselves would be thrown out if they went back and told their members they'd seen Christ. No, you don't have to worry about them. Christ belongs to the business men nowadays. Of course if the Votaries or any of them clubs got wind of it they'd want him to make a speech at noon today or something of that kind, but you needn't worry about the churches. Preachers are jealous of anyone that might take the attention off themselves. No, I'm not much afraid of anyone getting our guest. If he's the kind of a fellow I think he is, he'll prefer our company anyway.

THOMAS MAYNARD: (*Rising*) I hear them coming.

(*There are footsteps heard outside and the door opens. Jesus, robed in the traditional costume and looking exactly as he appears in the usual popular conception pictures, steps into the room. His face is sad and he has a bewildered expression. He is followed by the reception committee: William White, a bald, spare man; Paul Williams, a dapper young manufacturer; Richard Ford, a short man with a mustache, proprietor of a picture show; George Bemis, a radio station operator; and Clarence McIntyre, a real estate man. They are obviously much excited. All crowd round to introduce Christ to the President and Secretary of the Chamber of Commerce. Finally Paul Williams gets in the foreground and manages the introductions*).

PAUL WILLIAMS: Jesus, I'd like to have you meet Mr. Julius Halverson, pork packer, and President of our Chamber of Commerce.

JULIUS HALVERSON: (*Beaming and booming out the acknowledgement, at the same time bowing low and pumping Jesus's hand vigorously*). Very glad to know you, Jesus. I've heard a lot about you.

(*Jesus graciously bows and looks about him in bewilderment. His eyes stop for a moment on the great placard on the wall*).

PAUL WILLIAMS: And also, Jesus, I'd like to have you meet our Chamber of Commerce Secretary, Mr. Thomas Maynard, the livest little Chamber of Commerce secretary in the middle west.

THOS. MAYNARD: Right glad to know you, Jesus, and I'm glad to welcome you to our Chamber of Commerce, and through it, to our city. We feel we have a right to be proud of both. Sit down, Jesus, and you, gentlemen, be seated, please. (*He offers Jesus a cigar which is declined. They all take chairs around the table except Julius Halverson. All start to smoke. Jesus is seated about in the center of the table. He sighs and looks about him with the same air of bewilderment.*)

JULIUS HALVERSON: Now gentlemen, I'm not going to make any speeches. That will be reserved for tonight but I just want you men to relax and spend the forenoon here with our honored guest. I know he has a message for you but that also will be left for the banquet this evening. This informal meeting will merely be a sort of round table discussion of our problems. I am sure our guest will be glad to talk with any and all of you, and if you have any questions to ask I'm sure he'll be glad to answer them. Let's get acquainted, and let's throw all of our cards on the table. Jesus has been away a long time; no doubt he, too, will have questions. Let's make it an open forum and let's see what our guest can contribute to helping us solve any questions of moment.

THOMAS MAYNARD: Well, I'm used to taking the lead in meetings of this sort, so I'll lead off. J. C., last week I went on a booster trip and on the way over to Colton I sat with Reverend Ives and we got to talking about war. Now it is his opinion that there shouldn't be any more wars. Well you know I organized a company of soldiers here a few years ago and ever since I've been against pacifism. I tell you, J. C., I can't hardly hold myself when I hear anyone talking against preparedness. I feel this way: men will always fight, and nations will always fight and as long as people are that way we've got to be ready in case any other country jumps on us. Of course I'm not for war, you understand but—well, if you'll pardon my rough expression—these preachers that go around talking against war give me a pain.

JESUS: (*Listens with a pained look on his face, Then he stretches out his arms toward the speaker with a gesture of despair*). You mean men are still killing each other? You mean men are still thirsting for each other's blood—after Calvary, after that awful death on the cross, they still murder, and on a large scale? Was even that futile?

THOMAS MAYNARD: Oh, I understand how you feel, J. C. You did all you could and I'm not blaming

you. But men are born that way and when even you couldn't change their natures I think we might as well give up. Now of course I'd forgotten that it had been so long since you were around here. It didn't occur to me that you knew nothing of the World War. Say, that was some war and our Country won it. But it surely cost us something because we weren't prepared, and so I say we shouldn't be caught that way again. I'm just asking you for your opinion.

JESUS: If you men have not learned after Calvary, I have no answer for you. I see you have not learned, and you no doubt represent enough men to make a mighty war. Take the sword, then, and perish by it if in so doing you find your greatest joy. This much is certain, if your things you call wars grow greater, the time will come when the question will be easy of solution. The men of the world will be slain down to the last two combatants, and then one pistol shot will settle it all. Then will there be left only one with no adversary. He will be the victor.

JULIUS HALVERSON: Well that sounds like poetry but it don't shed much light on the Central American or Mexican situation, but then we'll let that pass. I'm sure you gentlemen won't mind if I ask a question of our guest. I'd like to ask if J. C. has any ideas on how to conduct drives for raising money for hospitals. I know in the old days he used to be strong on looking after the sick, but we've got a different problem today. Nowadays it's a matter of money, and the money has got to come from the people. Of course to get it from the people, organizations like this have got to get manpower together and go out and raise it from the people. We can't pull any feeding the five thousand miracles or anything of that kind. We just have to go after the people and get their money or their pledges. Now the last drive for a thing of that kind nearly fell flat. We feel we've got to get new methods. Maybe we can get some ideas from you.

JESUS. (*Pausing and looking down*) Once I said: 'The poor ye have with ye always.' Today as I came here, I wondered if men like you had remembered those words. The sick, the lame, the halt, the blind also are always with you. Why do men like you make the poor poorer and in so doing make more sick and lame to provide for? Why also do you worry when you must give back some of that which you took? Why—

PAUL WILLIAMS: Just a moment. I want to extend all courtesies to our guest, but I reserve the right to differ with him. I take exceptions to his answer to that last question. Why, gentlemen, his words sounded almost Socialistic. Yes I'd go farther, the words we've just listened to sound positively Bolshevistic. I appreciate the position of our guest but—

JULIUS HALVERSON: (*Slightly embarrassed, rapping on the table*) Now just a moment. We must ask our questions, get our answers and then have a general discussion afterward. Any other questions?

(*The door opens and Phyllis, the pretty secretary of Julius Halverson, enters.*)

PHYLLIS: (*Looking coquettishly about her*) Mr. Halverson, Louis Werner of the *Daily Times* is here. He says he hears that Jesus is here and wants an interview.

Thomas Maynard looks surprised and glances toward Mr. Halverson who meets his glance).

JULIUS HALVERSON: All right, I suppose we'll have to let him in. But no interview now.

(*Phyllis disappears and then ushers in Louis Werner. Werner is a slightly built young fellow and holds a pad of paper in his hand. He is shown to a chair and begins writing furiously. Exit Phyllis*).

WILLIAM WHITE: (*Mr. White has a high piping voice*) I'd like to ask a question of our guest. What does he think of the present political situation? What is the outlook for better business?

JESUS: I have seen the politicians and heard them as I stood before them with bound wrists and a crown of thorns upon my brow. I have seen one set of them thieving and then seen this same set replaced by one set which thieved more. When you ask me what effect these new politicians will have on business, of whose business are you talking?

WILLIAM WHITE: (*Very much confused*) Why of my own—I mean business in general. You know what I mean.

JESUS: Yes, I believe I do. I believe you are hoping that business will be *improved,* as you worldmen call it. Take from your neighbor and put with your own. If your kind exceed in numbers, you will put men in high places who will let you do this unhindered. You know best the answer. How about the numbers of your kind? Are there enough?

(*William White opens his mouth two or three times but makes no sound. The reporter keeps scribbling.*)

RICHARD FORD: (*Laughing and jovial*) Well now, J. C., these fellows are too much wrapped up in politics. I'm not a great thinker (laughs again) but I'm more interested in common every-day things. Now I run the Idle Hour Theatre across the street. You might get the impression that because I'm only a picture show man that I'm not much in touch with big affairs, but I'm a personal friend of the head of a big film corporation out in Hollywood and if I'd only wire him that you were here he'd make you an offer that would surprise you, to go into the talkies. But first I want you to stay in Dalton Center as long as you can. While you're here, I'm wondering if you couldn't come over to my place some afternoon and talk to the people. Of course (*seeing the displeasure of his colleagues*) it could be under the auspices of the Chamber of Commerce.

GEORGE BEMIS: (*The radio station operator*) Mr. President, I don't think it fair to have one of our group make an attempt to get our guest to lend himself to any publicity. Of course I'd like to have him broadcast from my station, but I would never dream of asking him . . . at least not in a public gathering of this nature. I feel that he is here to answer questions and we are here to learn from him.

CLARENCE MCINTYRE: (*McIntyre is a realtor and very enthusiastic over his business*) Now, gentlemen, I only partly agree with the last speaker. I feel that Mr. Christ is here to help us. All we have learned of him in the Bible points in that direction. Did he not live a life given over to self-sacrifice when he was on earth before? Do you remember how he helped all those with whom he came in contact? True, the business man of the old days was a different sort than those of today, but our guest realizes that fact very well, I'm sure. Now I have an idea. Why not ask our guest to remain in the city for several weeks and spend a day with each different business? On one day, for instance, he could come to my office, interview my salesmen and go out with me to our subdivision. An-

other day perhaps we could hold open house for our customers and he could be there. We would give out roses or something of the sort. Then on another day he could broadcast over the radio, as one of our number suggests. Oh, I think the possibilities are marvelous! I should like to hear from others.

(*The room is filled with tobacco smoke. Everybody is smoking something. Christ is obviously becoming more distressed each moment and it is evident that the selfish and cold-blooded individuals about him are becoming more and more jealous of each other and each more anxious to exploit the guest for his own gain. During the discussion, the newspaper reporter disappears and now he reappears with Glen Hunter, an advertising man*).

LOUIS WERNER: (*Before seating himself*) Gentlemen, as a member of the Chamber of Commerce, I'd like to add something to what has already been said. It seems that we are all agreed on one thing. We have this honored guest and he is very patient and apparently willing to aid us. Now I have just gone out and enlisted the aid of one of our members, Mr. Glen Hunter, who, as you know, is the proprietor of an advertising agency. We seem to be too narrow in our views. Each man here seems to be selfishly thinking of his own business. Now gentlemen, this is not fair to either our city or our guest. What is the thing for which this Chamber of Commerce stands? Why you know the answer! Our city; our beloved Dalton Center! Then why not ask our honored guest to remain in our midst and with the aid of Mr. Hunter's genius organize a campaign to sell Dalton Center to her own people? That is the noble thing to do. That is the sensible thing to accomplish, and in so doing we will place our beloved city in the first rank among these proud cities of the middle west where she rightfully belongs!

(*At the close of this speech there is applause. Everybody seems much pleased. Christ is obviously more distressed than ever, and tries to rise to his feet. Julius Halverson notices this and raps for order*).

JULIUS HALVERSON: Come to order, gentlemen. Our guest must have an opportunity to express himself. Let's hear from you, Jesus.

(*Jesus slowly rises and the audience listens expectantly. With a steady gaze, he surveys the group and then speaks*).

JESUS: I brought little with me when I came to your world this time. But there is one thing I have brought, and I will soon reveal it to you. Wait! I have something to say first. As I came into your city this morning, I saw great buildings and each was crowned by a tall spire which pierced the blue sky overhead. 'What are these?' I asked your friends. Then I was told that these were houses of God. 'There,' they said, 'men go to worship *you*.' I asked them questions and my mind went back to other days and I thought of other temples. 'How different these,' I mused, and I asked: 'do money-changers go in these and carry on their trade?' They answered me in the negative, and I was perplexed, for always in years long gone by the tradesman has loitered near the temple. Again I asked them a question: 'What of the money-changers,' I said, 'where do they stay?' and I was told that they carried on their businesses in other buildings but went each week to these temples and prayed for success, for health, for their city's supremacy! 'Ah,' I said, 'they have not changed much.' Then I came here with you and I find that your kind have not changed since those other days.

(*His hearers grow restless and look from one to the other with worried glances.*)

No, you have changed but little. You would sell me for thirty pieces of silver today as well as in those other days and if some Judas happens to be among you, you would barter among yourselves with him. You have a cross ready and spikes, too, and this week if I remained among you I would find my hands again nailed to the cross of your greed. That you go into the temple on one day of the week and then rob each other in this same temple's very shadow for six other days, deceives no one but your puny selves.

(*The members of the group are horrified and begin to rise to their feet.*)

Ah, I am glad that I brought with me a relic of those days before Calvary. I have it here in my garment, and I can and will use it as I did once before.

(*He is speaking most eloquently now and the men cringe before him. He draws a knotted scourge from his robe and swings it above his head and shouts at the top of his voice to the men*).

Be gone, murderers and thieves, with your mouths full of silken words. Out of my sight and back to your gilded theaters, your fattened soldiers, your plots of ground and your swine butchering.

(*He begins to lash them with the scourge. The men scatter toward the door as Christ rains blows upon them.*)

Back to your lying sheets of paper, your groaning banquet boards and your crowded marts. I am done with you but I will not leave without my protest. I will not leave until you have felt my wrath!

JULIUS HALVERSON: (*After all but him have been driven up to the very door*) Listen, J. C. This isn't fair. Let us talk and we'll prove to you that we're all right. Give us a chance. We'll—

(*Christ lashes the Chamber of Commerce President across the hips and Halverson makes a mad grasp at his hip pocket and pulls out a half of a broken whiskey bottle and tries to hold in the contents of it with his handkerchief. Another shower of blows from the scourge and the last of them disappear through the door*).

(*As Halverson goes out, he stops on the threshold and cries*):

"You'd better look out. We're going to bring suit against you. We've got one of the cleverest attorneys in the country right in our membership. I tell you, you'd better go careful!"

(*Another lash from the scourge sends him cursing out the door.*)

(*Christ tosses the scourge on the floor and passes his hand across his eyes as if attempting to efface some unpleasant memory. Then he stretches his hands above him and prays*).

JESUS: Oh, Father, as with my last breath on Calvary I asked Thee to forgive them because they had no realization of their transgressions, so now do I ask Thee to grant the same forgiveness. Not enough time has gone by. They are not yet ready for me. Indeed they may never be ready. But this much is true. This is not the time. I must go back to my tomb in the rock. Let the centuries roll on. Sometime, mayhap, but not now. It is too soon. But forgive them. They are men.

Curtain.

International Economic Policy of Indian Nationalists

British news-agencies and agents (propagandists) are spreading misinformation about the character of the Indian Nationalist movement by classing it as an offshoot of Communism. British propaganda-machines never hesitate to distort facts and spread misinformation to further British imperialist purposes. British officials, even cabinet members, were directly involved in spreading lying propaganda during the World War to the effect that Germans were boiling the dead bodies of their own soldiers to get fat necessary for making ammunition. This propaganda was spread to rouse the public opinion of the world, especially the people of the Orient, against Germany. Similarly British agents are now carrying on propaganda against India on an international scale and in various ways. Describing the Indian Nationalist movement as Communistic is one of them. It is needless to emphasize that this movement is being directed by the All-India National Congress which proclaims the creed of complete independence of India. The All-India National Congress was organized some forty-five years ago. It has passed through the evolutionary process of working for political reforms in India, and it last year adopted the creed of Indian independence, which is *not* Communism.

From a careful study of the economic policies of the Indian Nationalists, it becomes evident that they propose to assert their full economic independence along with their political sovereignty. The future Indian Nationalist government, be it a federated republic of the United States of India, or some other type, will remove all laws which operate in favor of Great Britain and discriminate against other nations. There will be no special privileges for any nation, although special measures might be adopted on the basis of reciprocity between India and other countries.

To be concrete, Indian Nationalists will abolish all laws which now confer special privileges on British subjects in matters of trade and commerce. As things stand today the British can exploit the mineral resources of India, while Americans, Germans, Japanese, Italians, French and other nationals, friendly to Indian aspirations, are denied the same opportunity. British merchants and industries enjoy special privileges, through the enforcement of a modified form of imperial preference in India. It is certain that such preference will be abolished by free India, and all friendly nations given equal opportunity to participate in Indian commerce. The Indian Nationalist government will seek the co-operation of the experts of the world in the development of their country. The Indian Nationalist tariff policy will be of great benefit to all nations. In this connection it will be of interest to the business men of all nations friendly to India to note the following dispatch published in the Indian Press:

Kobe, Japan, April 6, 1930.—In view of possible misunderstanding, the Secretary of the Indian National Congress Committee of Japan issued the following statement in connection with the Cotton Tariff proposals of the Government of India:

The Indian National Congress or Mahatma Ghandi has absolutely nothing to do with the increase in cotton goods duty proposed by Indian Government. The British Government in India has proposed a discriminative duty of 5 per cent on imported non-British cotton goods, simply with a desire to aid or say to subsidize Lancashire to that extent.

All Indian Nationalists, within or without the Legislative Assembly, have constantly opposed any form of Imperial Preference. India has not only nothing to gain by this preference to Lancashire but surely something to lose. It is quite likely that India may be deprived of the sympathy of the other cotton goods manufacturing countries, specially Japan which buys a considerable quantity of Indian raw products. This may not be quite accidental. The British could not have missed this aspect. This discriminating act hits Japan economically, India economically and politically, and all this to the benefit of the British. Things would have been quite different if India were independent. An independent India may impose duties on imported goods in order to protect her industries, just as every other country does or should do for national welfare. But certainly there could be no preference for one country and discrimination against another.

—The Amrita Bazar *Patrika* (Calcutta), May 27, 1930.

During the last session of the All-India National Congress, held at Lahore, the Indian Nationalists deliberately adopted a resolution to the effect that the Indian Nationalist government will respect all legitimate private property and recognize only such parts of India's national debts as will be recognized as just by the decision of an Impartial Committee for the Adjustment of India's National Debts to Britain. This resolution and a declaration of Pandit Jawarah Lal Nehru, the President of All-India National Congress (who is now in a British prison) have been misinterpreted by British propagandists to mean that under the regime of Indian Nationalists there will be no security of private property and that "in true Bolshevik fashion" all national debts of India will be repudiated. The truth of the situation is as follows:

In some instances some Britishers may be deprived of certain property which they secured dishonestly. Such a deprivation is not a practice of Bolshevism, but is well recognized by international law and municipal laws of various nations. For instance, some Americans by improper means secured a lease of a very valuable government oil-land. The United States Government, through a due process of law, not only cancelled the lease but punished the dishonest parties. The Indian shipping industry has been destroyed by the deliberate policy of the British Government. The Indian Nationalists just now propose that all coast-wise shipping of India be reserved for Indian shipping. This policy will certainly hurt British shipping interests, but adoption of such policy cannot be regarded as confiscation of British shipping because such laws are in force in various countries, especially in the United States, Japan and Italy.

Indian Nationalists will legitimately demand that the British Government must return all Indian national treasures which have been removed from India. This will certainly include the Kohinur and other diamonds, which are now parts of the British Crown Jewels, and many valuable objects that are now in the British Museum. None should be astonished if the Indian Nationalists make such legitimate demand. This is sanctioned by international law. Only recently Germany, by the Treaty of Versailles, was forced to return all the Chinese astronomical instruments which were brought into Germany after the Boxer War.

There can be no denying that the British Government, from the very start of its direct administration of India by the British Crown, saddled India with vast sums of unjustified obligations. When the East India Company (which robbed India in every possible way) was dissolved after the Sepoy Mutiny, the British Government made the Indian people pay for

the then outstanding bonds of the company. At the same time the Indian people were made to bear the cost of the suppression of the Sepoy Mutiny. Furthermore, the people were made to pay for the Afghan wars, the Burma wars, the British Expedition to Tibet, part of the expense of the Boer War, various expeditions and wars against China, and several billions of dollars for the World War. The Indian people, therefore, have been burdened with vast and unjust debts by the British Government; and they have paid hundreds of millions of pounds sterling as interest on these debts. Again, all Indian economic experts agree that the British Government has deprived India of hundreds of millions of pounds sterling through its "exchange policy," which is in favor of Britain and against Indian interests. Lastly, India has been made to pay for the British army of occupation. What the Indian Nationalists claim is that there are some disputed points in Indo-British financial relations of the past and there should be a readjustment of claims by an impartial commission.

To the British public, the idea of a readjustment of Indian national debts is looked upon with abhorrence. But they forget that they themselves have robbed Germans of hundreds of millions of dollars by confiscating German private property in violation of all the established principles of international law. Repudiation of unjust debts imposed upon a people is not a new principle. The Government of the United States repudiated all the debts of the Southern states who borrowed money from Britain to carry on the Civil War. Indian Nationalists claim that Britain has enriched herself by imposing upon India unjust national debts and they will demand a readjustment at the final settlement.

The Indian people are carrying on their "War of Independence" against British imperialism by applying the only effective weapons of the disarmed. They are practicing civil disobedience, non-payment of taxes, and boycott of British goods and British business in general. British propagandists have spread the idea that Indian Nationalists have proposed to boycott all European goods. But according to the resolution adopted by the Working Committee (Cabinet) of the All-India National Congress recently held at Allahabad, it

> urges the people to make earnest attempts to bring about an effective boycott of British goods at an early date. The Committee further appeals strongly to the public to boycott all British banking, insurance, shipping and similar other institutions.

The weapon of boycott was used by the Irish against the policy of British ruthlessness. The Chinese used this same weapon against the British and Japanese on various occasions. In fact the effective boycott of British goods and business by the Chinese Nationalists forced the British Government to change its gunboat diplomacy against the Chinese. The policy of economic boycott of British business in Russia by the Soviet Government has forced the British Labor Government to re-establish diplomatic relations. The Indian Nationalist economic policy is to make the British attempt to rule over India unprofitable and most costly to Great Britain. No friendly nation has anything to fear from the international economic policy of the Indian Nationalists, although Great Britain will lose all special privileges and some of her ill-gotten gains.

TARAKNATH DAS.

The Study Table

A Primer of Humanism

All power to the man who deals forthright blows against the prevailing smugness of Christian orthodoxy, with its false cosmology, its outworn science, its easy supernaturalism, its dependent defeatist religiousness, and all its unrealities in prayer and hymn-book phraseology. Mr. Potter is refreshing for the vigor and clearness of his attack in this new book.* So far most readers of UNITY will gladly go along with him.

But our author is not only a critic of the old; he is formulating for his readers a *new* religion. What is it? On the jacket of Humanism are given ten ways in which the new religion differs from the old. (1) Instead of God the Creator we have evolved (or evolving) universe and mankind. Just how new is this? Instead of Hell the new religion tells us that suffering is the natural result of breaking the laws of right living. Does Mr. Potter wish us to infer that anyone of us can get rid of suffering by simply ceasing to break the laws of right living? and if so, whose breaking, our own as individuals, our ancestors', the social order of which we are part? Instead of Heaven, we are told that "doing right brings its own satisfaction." Again, can one do this alone? "The chief end of man is to glorify God" says the old religion. The new says, "The chief end of man is to improve himself, both as an individual, and as a race." But it is not necessary to go through the list. It is interesting, challenging, and unsatisfying.

In the first chapter Mr. Potter essays a definition of religion. He says: "Religion is the attempt to unify one's personality, and relate it with the world without." Again: "It becomes apparent that the chief concern of Humanism is to release the pent-up reservoir of human energy, to explore the uncharted territory of the mind, and to raise to its highest efficiency the entire personality." "To men and women of today Humanism offers inspiration and a program. Here they may study their own personalities until they become familiar not only with their own virtues, but also with their tendencies to seek the lesser good." Later on in the chapter Mr. Potter lands, all unwittingly, one guesses, in metaphysics. He says: "Humanism is the conviction that personality is the explanation of the universe, that man himself is the highest manifestation of this (whose?) personality," etc. Is Mr. Potter here using the concept personality as meaning a concrete personality, e.g., Jesus, Socrates, Dewey, or a Platonic abstraction, personality as a common noun, or is the personality which is to be the explanation of the meaning of the universe a quality of the universe itself? Later Mr. Potter goes at length into a discussion of what personality (of a concrete individual) consists, and what are its qualities, and later still returns to the discussion of

*"HUMANISM, A New Religion," by Charles Francis Potter. Simon and Schuster. $1.50.

the metaphysical problem which he postulates in the foregoing paragraph. Being a Humanist he of course would not think of the universe as personal, and yet one cannot help wishing that he had developed the metaphysical assumption that "personality is the explanation of the universe," and "man is the highest manifestation of this (?) personality." Our author claims that Humanism is, or has, a Gospel. "The message needed by man is a call to study and develop his own personality. And this is the gospel of Humanism." This may be a "gospel," but Mr. Potter will need a good while to lure the multitudes with this good news!

Indeed, one is led to question the main thesis of the book, which may be said to be that "Humanism is the belief in the supreme value and selfperfectibility of the human personality." Is this a gospel? Is it a religion? And if it is, is it new? One may be in almost entire sympathy with the negative aspects of Humanism, as over against any crude conception of Theism, and yet not be convinced that any such setting forth of the entire scheme as Mr. Potter's is convincing. One is inclined to question the whole set-up of this new religion. (1) In the first place it has no adequate metaphysic. For while Mr. Potter, in the chapter on Atheism does return to this perplexing problem, he is not thoroughgoing in his treatment of personality. He does not satisfy the intellectual hunger of those who demand for themselves some explanation of the universe, which will satisfy this hunger. (2) Has Mr. Potter a satisfying ethic? The chief end of man is to improve himself, says the New Humanism. Of course this is not any newer than Greek philosophy; is it to be completely reconciled with the Golden Rule, which Mr. Potter deals with approvingly in one chapter? Or does he anywhere seek to fit in the improvement gospel with the whole realm of social responsibility which every enlightened person today recognizes as a part of his ethical code? To what extent, again, does the improvement idea of the Greeks and Mr. Potter jibe with the New Testament paradox, "He that loseth his life shall find it"? What room does Mr. Potter leave for that compulsion to uphold a "cause" which has animated the great leaders of human history? Some of them have "not counted their own life (improvement?) dear unto them." Indeed can one improve himself *in vacuo?* Can one go far in the self-improvement business unless he has some goal which he appraises as more worthful (and so worships) than himself? Mrs. Anna Garlin Spencer once said to a Humanist speaker, "Leave us our wings." Give us, Mr. Potter, a better metaphysic, a better ethic, a real goal and a real gospel, better than these tiresome selves of ours, interpret to us our universe in terms of the very best that human life has ever been, or may be. Above all, don't palm off science, "which today is and tomorrow is cast into the oven," "the work of men's hands," and call it a religion. One of our keenest young writers, a thorough modern, has called it a "False Messiah." Is he right?

JAMES A. FAIRLEY.

A Defense of Evolution

As a veteran teacher of geology and palaeontology, and author of one of the best recent works on "Our Prehistoric Ancestors" (1928), Professor Cleland, of the geology department of Williams College, long famous also as author of the widely used college textbook, "Physical and Historical Geology," is unusually well qualified to answer the question asked by the title of his latest book.* Briefly yet with remarkable thoroughness he has given a summary survey of the more important facts upon which the theory of organic evolution is based. Years of experience in teaching no doubt account in large measure for the success with which Dr. Cleland has sifted out the more significant data from the undoubtedly highly interesting but less fundamental material at his command.

The chief aim of this very readable little book is to answer, in all seriousness, and as clearly as brevity will permit, the precise question raised. However, the author does not hesitate to tell the exact status of evolution in the world of science today. Its overwhelming primacy in scientific thought he indicates by these few words:

> The scientist who can disprove the theory of evolution will stand out as one of the great men of his time, and many a man has begun a study of biology or geology with the hope that he might be that man; but each has found the theory so strong that no intelligent person who has a knowledge of the facts of biology, geology, or botany, can fail to accept it. Most students of the subject now hold that evolution is a fact, not a theory.

"Theory" comes in only when explanation is attempted of the most potent factors or causes of the recognized process of evolution, or transmutation of species.

While by far the greatest part of Professor Cleland's five chapters is devoted to answering such pertinent questions as, for example, why the gorilla and chimpanzee did not evolve into men; the difficulties inherent in the attempt to trace man's ancestry in remote ages; how physical and mental improvement were accomplished; what will men of the future be like, etc., and also to show the consequences which must inevitably follow rejection of the great principle of evolution, the author will appear to some readers to be unduly concerned, in his capacity as scientist, with reconciling Christian doctrine with the results of scientific research. He says, in his introduction, that "most anti-evolutionists are not bigots," but on the next page he admits that "the blatant anti-evolutionist is, as far as my observation goes, a man so ignorant of the principles of evolution that his opinions are worthless." He goes on to say that the purpose of his book "is to present a few of the proofs of evolution in such a way that they can be readily understood." Understood by whom—these same blatant and ignorant persons, who are in fact bigots of the first water, whether Dr. Cleland has found them so or not?

As a matter of fact, what the author has produced is a thoroughly sound and well written summing-up of evidence for evolution, of service principally to the open-minded layman not yet familiar with the chief facts upon which modern scientists base their conclusion that all higher organisms are the descendants of less complex forms of plants and animals. Professor Cleland does not accept Dr. H. F. Osborn's new "dawn man" hypothesis, preferring the older Darwinian view that in his progress from lemur to *Homo sapiens* man passed through an arboreal stage that could be described scientifically only as an ape-like—or even ape—form. As he says:

> The evidence is overwhelming that man and the apes of

*"Why Be an Evolutionist?" By Herdman Fitzgerald Cleland. Coward-McCann, New York.

today were descended from a primitive ape-like stock, and that man's nearest existing relatives are the chimpanzee and gorilla. One was not desecnded from the other, but all had a common ancestry in a remote period.

So admirably has the factual material of the book been handled, that the little volume can render a real service even to readers completely out of sympathy with Dr. Cleland's apparent desire to harmonize what many readers would consider incompatible viewpoints.

MAYNARD SHIPLEY.

Trumpets on New Horizons

To Every Soul

Give me your hand, my brother,
Look in my eyes and see,
As one man to another,
Let nothing keep you from me.

Whether you're up or down,
Poor or wealthy, I vow,
Whether you're yellow or brown,
I pledge to you here and now

That nothing in all creation
Shall separate you from me:
Humanity is my nation,
Mankind my family tree.

Workman and humble mother
I see God in your eyes:
In the heart of you, black brother,
I find life's greatest prize.

In the slum my one great sorrow
Is to see you crucified:
My noblest hope for tomorrow
Is to see you satisfied.

I sing this faith each hour:
More than flags and kings and laws
Love is the greatest power,
Justice the greatest cause.

I worship the God in manhood,
And I long to see him free
To heal our earth with brotherhood,
With life and fraternity.

VINCENT G. BURNS

Russia

Pre-War Russia

A very narrow path bounded by tall weeds with sharp thorns. . . .
Farther away are uncared-for trees,
There is clatter of leaves, rustling of bushes,
Encircled by the weeds people walk unsteadily
Upon cracked, wooden bridges in a rainy night.
Thorns pierce their flesh; blood is streaming. . . .
Their dreams are wavering . . . billows on the sea.
There is unsated hunger, a false expectancy . . .
Yearning. . . .
Like an imprisoned man in a dark cell
Their eyes gaze above
The thorny bushes, for light,
But find murkiness and obscurity. Their muffled spirit
Cries out in vain . . . A spirit broken and afraid. . . .

Russia Today

Toil crusted hands daub up the cracks
In the bridges with cement.
Pungent rays of sun are blinding the eyes:
Beaming rays are making dancing shadows
Upon the pavement. Awakened to new life
Voices rise in bitterness toward the dark past.
The dream of freedom is caught . . . held . . .
cherished!
Soaked to the bone people are drying
In the free sun.
Fearlessly their broken spirit is rising . . .
Faltering to fly. . . .
From this wavering dream comes
A dazzling sparkle of light
Which melts the ice in their frozen hearts.
The narrow path widens. . . .
Dawn is slowly coloring this land.

FANIA KRUGER

On Seeing My Children at Play

There are torches of courage
That brighten the way
Through the womb of the night
To the sun of the day.

The march is a long one
For jubilant feet
Over bleak country,
Through turbulent street.

But this is my vision
I utter in song
That my children will carry
These torches along;

That my children will watch
The new commonwealth rise
With a dream in their hearts
And the sun in their eyes.

LUCIA TRENT

Correspondence

A Threat to Social Idealism in Art

Editor of UNITY:

On July 24th, Robert Parsons, known to the literary world as Marcus Graham, compiler of "An Anthology of Revolutionary Poetry," was arrested without warrant at Yuma, Arizona. For two weeks he was incarcerated in three different jails. He was photographed and fingerprinted like the commonest criminal, refused counsel, visitors and members of the press.

He was charged by the U. S. Immigration authority at Yuma with having been across the Mexican border at El Paso, Texas, 500 miles away, without the permit required for aliens. He was charged with being a Communist and with having in his possession a copy of the anthology he edited, a volume legally copyrighted and available at all leading libraries and bookstores, containing the work of poets from Euripedes to Sandburg and the editor of *Vanity Fair*. The first two charges are absolutely false. The third is no crime.

On August 17th he was examined at a star chamber hearing before a local Board of Inquiry in Los Angeles which recommended, despite the efforts of the Civil Liberties Union in his behalf, that he be deported. His case now rests in the hands of Hon. Harry Hull, Commissioner General of Immigration, Department of Labor, Washington, D. C.

About ten years ago Robert Parsons was threatened with deportation, subjected to a brutal "third degree" examination, and after thorough examination the case against him was dropped and his bail returned.

Friends and readers of UNITY, what is a country coming to that victimizes a man like Marcus Graham, an idealist of the highest type, a man who has devoted fifteen years of his life to compiling a great book of the poets of twenty countries and more than twenty centuries, poets who have voiced their ringing protests against social injustice and man's inhumanity to man?

As writers of the introduction to "An Anthology of Revolutionary Poetry" and as two of many who can vouch for the character of its editor, we appeal to you to protest

with us against this frontal attack upon freedom of speech and against this shameful treatment of a man who has rendered such service to poets and to the world.

We have formed a defense committee, sponsored by the Rebel Poets and other organizations with headquarters at 61 Huntington Street, Hartford, Conn. This committee includes Upton Sinclair, Shaemas O'Sheel, C. E. S. Wood, Clement Wood, Rev. Robert Whitaker, Mary Siegrist, Kenneth W. Porter and many other distinguished figures who rise to the defense of the poets' immemorial right to prophesy, denounce wrong, and, as having more than the common share of inspiration, serve as spokesmen for the future.

We urge all liberty-loving Americans to protest to Commissioner Hull at once, urging him to release Robert Parsons, a brave man whose life has been a constant sacrifice to his dream of human emancipation and human happiness.

RALPH CHEYNEY
LUCIA TRENT

Hartford, Connecticut

[UNITY warmly and urgently seconds this appeal. Here is one more wanton and cruel violation of the liberties which this nation was founded to maintain. We should not rest until Robert Parsons has been released.—Editor.]

Flogging, Clubbing and Skull Cracking of Indian Patriots

Editor of UNITY:

To do justice to myself as a journalist I must ask your favor to print in UNITY this contribution as my answer to a "distinguished and highly trustworthy Englishman, a Laborite" who denies the charge of public flogging of Indian political offenders. My remark on public flogging is based upon the news items sent by the representatives of the United Press and the Associated Press, published in American papers, after the declaration of martial law in Sholapur and the massacre of Indians there. I think that there is more truth in the news items sent by the American news services than the declaration of British Cabinet Ministers regarding India. If the story about flogging was incorrect then the British censor would not have allowed it to be transmitted.

As a student of international relations, I must say that many statesmen of all nations on occasions of great political crisis, especially in time of war, in order to defend their policies, tell only half-truths and sometimes falsehoods. I may say that Britain is at war with nationalist India and British statesmen are following the same path which has been characterized by Mr. Ponsonby in his book "Falsehood in War Times". Most highly respectable and personally honest British statesmen in official statements regarding Ireland, Germany, India, Persia and other countries, deliberately concealed truth from the British public. To be concrete, this has been done by Sir Edward Grey, Lloyd George, Lord Robert Cecil, Lord Haldane, and others. Mr. Benn's subordinates in India are trying desperately to "white-wash" the actual brutalities perpetrated by British officials, police and military on the unarmed, helpless people. The best evidence of this is the "white-wash" report of the official commission, on the massacre at Peshawar, where tanks were driven over the bodies of men, women and children. British authorities have declared the un-official report of the All-India Congress Committee's investigation on the Peshawar incident to be seditious, and ordered all copies of the same "proscribed", and the printer of the report has been fined several thousand dollars.

There is no doubt about the most inhuman and barbarous methods used by the British police in India against the unarmed non-resisting Indian patriots. The thing that amazes me is that the British Laborites, who are supposed to be the defenders of liberty and champions of human rights, have not effectively exposed the terrible situation. Mr. Fenner Brockway made an attempt in Parliament, and he was ordered out of the august body on the motion of J. Ramsay MacDonald. There is no civil administration in India today. The country is ruled by "ordinances" issued by the Viceroy using his extra-ordinary power, and no honest Englishman can but feel ashamed at the situation. I think that the American public and the "distinguished and highly trustworthy Laborite of Great Britain" should carefully read the following "Open Letter" of Mr. F. W. Wilson, the British Editor of the *Indian Daily Mail* (Bombay) addressed to His Excellency, Lord Irwin, the Viceroy of India, and printed in the *Daily Mail* on June 23rd last. This will make it clear that at least some honest Englishmen think that clubbing and cracking skulls of non-resisting Indian *Satyagrahis* is the rule of the day:

"To His Excellency, the Rt. Hon. Lord Irwin, G.C.S.I.G.C.I.E., Viceroy and Governor-General of India.

Your Excellency,

During the last eight days Bombay has witnessed what is evidently a stern determination on the part of Your Excellency's Government to repress, if not stamp out, all manifestation of the Civil Disobedience movement.

About the initial mistake in inaugurating this movement I have nothing to urge by way of excuse or palliation. I have consistently and strenuously attacked Mr. Gandhi's decision, but I recognize that the present situation has developed far beyond a point, where it is profitable or politic to lament past mistakes or to try and justify repression and the present policy of Your Excellency's Government, by merely pointing to the illegal nature of the forces arrayed against it.

This recent policy on the part of the Government has been accompanied by police excesses of the most revolting brutality. The evidence for this statement is beyond question. I, myself, both in a private capacity and as the responsible editor of a responsible newspaper can and will willingly bear testimony to this effect. Yet the events of last Monday afternoon have actually been justified by the authorities, and I should not be surprised if a similar whitewashing was applied to Saturday's beating of women volunteers. . . .

The crack of every lathi blow on the heads of unresisting Satyagrahis resounds through the land and will echo down the years to come. Your excellency's officers, I am sure without Your Excellency's cognizance, are tarnishing the reputation of Great Britain, and creating a growing volume of implacable dislike and distrust. And, at the most, what is the crime which is being attacked? Your Excellency must be the last to deny the fervent patriotism which is inspiring even the most misguided Congress volunteer, and when has patriotism become a crime in the eyes of an Englishman?

Your Excellency's officers make much of the defiance of the law. . . . Your Excellency's officials will doubtless parry with Your Excellency's duty to maintain law and order. *Is it in accordance with any law, human or divine, to crack the skulls of unresisting men and women, and is order best maintained by inflaming a nation's feeling against the guardian of order?* . . . There are some of us who still refuse to believe that Your Excellency's statesmanship is so bankrupt, or that Your Excellency would prefer to secure a triumphant *repression of the Congress challenge by means of hospitals crowded with wounded, or by jails packed with the pick of the nation.*

Does not Your Excellency recognize that what is being done in the name of Your Excellency today is the surest way of ultimately severing the British connection? Is Your Excellency being so ill-advised as to think that the Congress movement is but a small revolutionary excrescence to be easily repressed and subdued? . . . Does not Your Excellency recognize that when the offer is made to a people of a choice between misguided patriotism and alien repression, patriotism is sure to win? Your Excellency has far too good a knowledge of history to be ignorant of this fact. And what remains to be done. . . . India reads Your Excellency's speeches, and the speeches of the Secretary of State, notes the emphasis placed upon "Dominion Status in action," but at the same time she notices *that Your Excellency's officials are spending public money attacking Indian banks and Indian insurance business.*

Mr. Gandhi has again and again pleaded for a change of heart. . . . The Liberal Party have asked Your Excellency to avail yourself of the advice of the moderate elements in the country. Today India is asking in despair for something to inspire hope and confidence. Is Your Excellency going to refuse such a gesture? . . . I am writng this not on behalf of any party or group. I am writing as an Englishman, who believes that it is the bounden duty of every British patriot and of every lover of India, to do everything possible to preserve the British connection in a form compatible with this country's desire to be master in her own house. By writing this letter, I may be bringing myself within the operation of one of this country's ordinary and extraordinary laws, but I humbly submit that this is a time in which to be silent is to be craven, and in which not to be frank is to be disloyal.

I have the honor to be, Your Excellency's obedient servant,

F. W. WILSON,
Editor, *The Indian Daily Mail*, Bombay.
Late Editor *"Pioneer,"* Allahabad.

For the solution of the present situation in India and

The Field

"The world is my country, to do good is my Religion."

An Open Letter to the Rt. Hon. Mr. Wedgwood Benn, Secretary of State for India

Some time back I read with interest in the press an open letter addressed to the Premier the Rt. Hon. Mr. Ramsay MacDonald by Mr. K. S. Venkatramani, one of the foremost of the Indian thinkers on the India situation.

Since then events have been changing rapidly in this country. The Simon Report has caused the keenest disappointment, as it attempts most disingeniously to go behind the solemn pledges and declaration of the past. The Report is thoroughly reactionary and opposed to the spirit of the very terms of reference. There is not a single large idea, and in all the eight hundred dreary pages loaded with sophistry and statistics there is not one illuminating line of statesmanship.

This is the hour of trial both for England and for India. The Labor Government should immediately express its dissent from the recommendations of the Report. The Round Table Conference should be held with the express understanding to frame a Dominion Status constitution for India with reservations which Indians themselves require.

The number of political prisoners is appalling and is itself the surest index of the vitality of our movement. Even the great Indian mutiny was but a military revolt of a section, aided by the discontent of the deposed ruling classes. Now the great movement headed by Mahatma Gandhi is a national movement in every aspect, political, economical and social. Freedom is sought for as our birthright and not as a reward for virtue and efficiency. That is the psychology of the present situation. Will the statesman in Downing Street grasp it?

The remedy is simple, for the statesman with a constructive mind. Declare immediately Dominion Status for India and general political amnesty. Then India with one grateful gesture will stand by you for a very long time to come through sunshine and storm. If India's friendship is lost by lack of sympathy at this supreme hour, your unemployed will run up from one-and-a-half to twenty-five millions, and Great Britain will sink to the position, as has been so often said by acute observers, of a second Holland.

May the streaks of sympathy and good-will dawn early in the political horizon and dispel the deep darkness of the present hour!

(Signed) L. N. GUBIL SUNDARESAN.
Teppakulam,
Trichinopoly.

Sherwood Eddy on Mahatma Gandhi

(Extracts from an address reported in the Bombay *Chronicle*)

". . . I waited half a day, seven years ago, to see Gandhi (when he was in prison), but was denied admission. This year we spent three days in his home and five days with him in the great convention, the Congress of the Nationalist Party assembled at Lahore. He is the most impressive personality I have ever met on earth or expect to meet if I live for a hundred years. It was just as if you talked with Buddha, or Francis d'Assisi. It seems as if for me he contains three personalities in one man—Buddha, Francis d'Assisi and Thomas Jefferson.

"I arrived on Gandhi's day of silence, for one day a week he keeps perfect silence, for meditation, for prayer, and for the writing of his numerous editorials. We saw him rise at 4 o'clock in the morning, in the cold and dark. This is for his first half hour of prayer out under the stars. He returns at 7:30 o'clock every evening, no matter what happens, for his second half hour of prayer. On one occasion there was a very hot debate in the Congress and he should have replied in the debate, but it was 7:30 o'clock, and nothing could keep him there. He stole out and went to his private tent for prayer. The debate passed and he made no reply. He moves in the world, but lives in God, a life such as I have never seen any other human being live.

"I shall never forget my last sight of him. He was addressing a congress of 15,000 people in the tent. He was too weak to stand, and he was sitting as they held a microphone to his lips, speaking more quietly than I am speaking now. There were 15,000 people leaning forward breathlessly to catch every word, as India catches every word he utters. I suppose he is followed by more people than any other living man, and, owing to our means of communication today by more people than Confucius, Buddha, or even Jesus in their lifetimes. I went to say goodbye to Gandhi. He was in his private tent, and we walked to the large tent together. But the multiude thronged upon him. I saw men's faces lit with a love I have never seen for any human being. I saw mothers hold up their children to see him. I saw educated men close their eyes in prayer, or touch his garments, or kiss his foot. I saw him moving as calm and untroubled as Buddha. On that old face I saw a light that never shone on sea or land. I have seen a man who lived in God."

All-World Gandhi Fellowship

Purpose

The object of the All-World Gandhi Fellowship is to cultivate in individual and collective life the doctrines of Ahimsa (non-violence) and Satyagraha (soul-force) for the promotion of peace and happiness of the world.

Method

The methods consist in putting into practice to the best of one's powers, the following five rules (Yama) which Mahatma Gandhi prescribes for the members of Satyagrah Ashram:

1. Satya—the vow of truth. It is not enough not to resort ordinarily to untruth. No deception may be practiced even for the good of the country. Truth may require opposition to parents and elders.

2. Ahimsa—the vow of non-violence. It is not enough not to take the life of any living being. One may not even hurt those whom he believes to

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to determine the exact condition of repression, it is essential that an International Commission be appointed. Recently several British publicists advocated that, to remove the tension between France and Italy, other members of the League of Nations should bethink themselves of Article eleven of the League Covenant which *"declares it to be the friendly right of each member of the League to bring to the attention of the Assembly or the Council any circumstance whatever affecting international relations which threatens to disturb international peace or the good understanding between nations upon which peace depends."* May I emphasize the point that the relation between imperialist Britain and nationalist India is far worse than that between Italy and France. In India the British Government is *virtually* carrying on a war on the nationalist Indians with great intensity and brutality. More than 30,000 Indian nationalists are now in British prisons and several hundreds of Indians have been killed and wounded by British military and police. India and Britain are original members of the League of Nations. Will British Laborites agree that the League should appoint a committee to investigate British barbarity committed against the Indian people?

There is every reason to think that the British Government will not agree to such an investigation of the situation in India by an impartial committee of the League of Nations. In that case, I suggest that the American friends of India should start a movement for investigating the Indian situation by an American Commission. A report of investigation conducted by an impartial committee may not be palatable to the British Government or some sections of the British people, but such report will help the world to understand the exact situation in India. It is to be hoped that some British people will aid Americans to carry out the idea of an impartial investigation of the situation in India by a neutral committee.

TARAKNATH DAS

Munich, Germany.

[Note: We heartily endorse the statesmanlike suggestions contained in the above letter. That the League of Nations could and should "act," is obvious; that it will act, is dubious. In such case, what can be better than the appointment of a commission of eminent and trustworthy Americans to go to India and investigate disputed questions on the spot. If a formal invitation or appeal from Indian nationalists should be received, we think it would be answered.—Editor.]

be unjust; he may not be angry with them, he must love them. Oppose tyranny but never hurt the tyrant. Conquer him by love. Suffer punishment even unto death for disobeying his will. Sacrifice and willing suffering is the spirit of Ahimsa. Fearlessness is essential to follow Ahimsa.

3. Asteya—the vow of non-stealing. It is not enough not to steal what is commonly considered other men's property. It is theft if we use articles which we do not really need.

4. Brahmacharya—the vow of self-control. It is not enough not to look upon woman with a lustful eye. Animal passions must be controlled, so that they will not be moved even in thought.

The control of the palate. Regulate and purify the diet. Leave off such foods as may tend to stimulate animal passions or are otherwise unnecessary.

5. Aparigraha—the vow of non-acquisition. It is not enough not to be acquisitive but it is necessary not to keep anything which may not be absolutely necessary for our bodily wants. Think constantly of simplifying life.

Etymology

Satyagraha. Satya, just right; Agraha, attempt, effort. Hence, Satyagraha, a just effort, in the sense of meaning non-acceptation of or resistance to injustice. Gandhi defines it, November 5, 1919, as meaning "holding on to truth, hence truth-force." And he adds, "I have also defined it as love-force or soul-force."

Ahimsa (non-violence) means to abstain from all violence against the lives, person and property of adversaries. When we come to analyze what constitutes Ahimsa we find at once that it is not merely a negative virtue; it involves the positive doing of good quite as much as the negative refusal to do harm. Ahimsa does not mean meek submission to the will of the evil doer but the putting of one's whole soul against the will of the tyrant. Only with awareness of soul-force can non-resistant strength be developed.

Membership

Membership involves no financial responsibility beyond the payment of $1.00 as an initiation fee, and a voluntary yearly contribution which is left entirely to member's own discretion to pay whenever and whatever they can afford, for which they will receive a copy of the quarterly journal "Dharma," the organ of the All-World Gandhi Fellowship. It will keep the members informed how the movement is progressing.

Application for Membership

The application for the Fellowship shall be made to Miss Alma L. Lissberger, secretary-treasurer, 1285 Fifth avenue, New York City. Telephone, University 2778.

A Petition for Disarmament

The Women's International League for Peace and Freedom is circulating for signatures in this country a petition to be presented to the next international conference for disarmament.

This petition, which is to be circulated in all the twenty-six countries in which the League is organized, reads as follows:

"The revelations of scientific experts in various countries have proved that modern methods of warfare make national defense and protection of civilians an illusion and that a future war would result in the extermination of a large proportion of the civil population by fire, poison gas and infection-spreading microbes.

"Do you know what a new war would mean with the methods of destruction that science perfects day by day?

"Do you know that, in future, war would bring no benefit to any one because the first objects of attack would be not only munition and food stores, but all industrial centers? This would mean complete industrial ruin.

"Do you know that bombing aircraft could at the same time destroy towns like London, Paris and Berlin?

"Do you know that poison gas not only inflicts a painful death on human beings but also sinks into the earth and poisons soil and water?

"Do you know that incendiary bombs can by chemical processes produce a temperature of 5,000 degrees fahrenheit and thus destroy all life that has survived poison gas?

"In spite of the official renunciation of war, grave danger to peace still threatens. Will the peoples allow their governments to prepare their destruction? Let them unite and demand world disarmament.

"The undersigned men and women, irrespective of party, are convinced:

"That competition in armaments is leading all countries to ruin without giving security;

"That this policy renders future wars inevitable and that these will be wars of extermination;

"That governmental assurances of peaceful policy will be valueless so long as those measures of disarmament are delayed that should be the first result of the pact for the renunciation of war.

"They therefore ask for total and universal disarmament and request their government formally to instruct its delegates to the next disarmament conference to examine all proposals for disarmament that have been or may be made, and to take the necessary steps to achieve real disarmament."

The following list of signers, it was stated, gave their names before the petition was put in general circulation: Jane Addams, Chicago; Dr. Robert Bosch, Stuttgart; Dr. Carel Capek, Czechoslovakia; Professor Dr. Albert Einstein, Berlin; Dr. Joan Fry, Great Britain; Professor Dr. Ch. Gide, France; Dr. Kerstin Hesselgren, M. P., Sweden; Betzy Kjelsberg, Norway; Dr. Selma Lagerlof, Sweden; Rosa Mayreder, Vienna; Dr. Leonard Ragaz, Switzerland; Professor Bertrand Russell, F. R. S., Great Britain; Marguerite de St. Prix, France; Minister Stauning, Denmark; Senator Andre Strug, Poland; Professor Dr. Rustem Vambrey, Hungary; Dr. Stefan Zweig, Austria.

WANTED—Copies of UNITY of August 8th. The All-India number was soon exhausted. Many orders remain unfilled. Will subscribers who do not save their papers kindly return this issue to 700 Oakwood Boulevard, Chicago.

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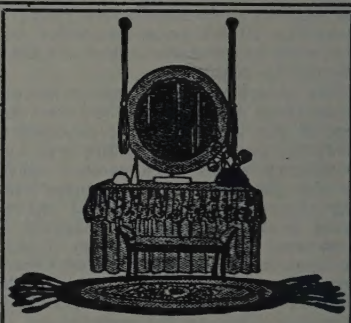

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